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[CONFIDENTIAL.]

C. I. Circular No. 11.

Dated Simla, the 28th October 1909.

MEMORANDUM ON THE ANTI-BRITISH AGITATION AMONG NATIVES OF INDIA IN ENGLAND, PART II, WITH PPENDIX.

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1909.

[SECRET.]

MEMORANDUM ON THE ANTI-BRITISH AGITATION AMONG NATIVES OF INDIA IN ENGLAND.

PART II.

Activity at India House; Savarkar's book on the Mutiny used as text-book.

Owing to the internal dissensions to which reference has been made in the Memorandum forwarded under C. I. Circular No. 7 of 1909, matters were fairly quiet in Indian circles in London during the month of March 1909. In April, however, there was a recrudescence of activity at the India House. At the usual meeting held there on Sunday, April 4th, V. V. S. Aiyar read about 100 pages of the English version of Savarkar's book on the Mutiny. The portion of the narrative read on this occasion was the revolt in the United Provinces, and, when the names of Bahadur Shah and other Indian mutineers were mentioned, the entire audience stood up and cheered and yelled in a most enthusiastic manner.

According to the author the chief cause of their defeat on that occasion was that the leaders were too hasty as the people were not sufficiently armed and were not ripe for rebellion. The India of to-day was different, and the sooner war was declared against the foreigner the more chance there would be of obtaining their freedom. Speeches were then made by Haidar Raza, Savarkar, G. C. Varma and Harnam Singh, the expelled student of Cirencester College, who had recently returned to London, and the meeting terminated amid great excitement.

On Sunday the 11th, Aiyar continued his reading of Savarkar's book on the Mutiny, dealing on this occasion with the outbreaks at Meerut and Lucknow. Reference was made to the bravery of the sepoys, who fought without proper arms and ammunition, and the British were accused of cowardice. Afterwards speeches were made by Savarkar, G. C. Varma and Harnam Singh.

The Indian Mutiny celebration; dispute between Haidar Raza and Savarkar.

At the usual meeting on the 18th April a dispute arose between Haidar Raza and Savarkar with regard to the celebration of the Indian Mutiny anniversary. The latter desired that it should be celebrated with elaborate ceremonial, as was done last year, while the former strongly objected to any thing that would create a sensation and probably cause a scandal. Next Sunday it was intended that a further reading of

Savarkar's book on the Mutiny should take place at the "India House," but this was not done owing, it was said, to the interference of Haidar Raza who was then manager, and the afternoon was spent in singing national hymns and songs. Haidar Raza's objection was no doubt due to his personal quarrel with Savarkar.

The Sunday meeting at the India House on May 2nd was very poorly attended and a proposal to hold a Mutiny celebration on May 10th was only carried after some opposition.

The London Indian Society.

On May 4th six members of the Executive Committee of the London Indian Society met at the offices of the Solicitor Delgado, 8, Warwick Court, and discussed the grave situation of this Society. It was stated that members of both Moderate and Extreme views were deserting for some unknown reason. Mr. Delgado said that detectives from Scotland Yard had been shadowing persons who attended the meetings held by the Society, much to their disgust and inconvenience. It was, therefore, decided that in future political business should not be openly discussed. A number of "Socials" and "At Homes" would be arranged and efforts made to show that the Society was in no way connected with political affairs, and had nothing to do with nationalist propaganda.

Arrangements for the Mutiny celebration.

On Sunday, May 9th, about 30 students assembled at "India House" and arrangements were made for holding the annual festival in commemoration of the Mutiny. Savarkar made a speech on the subject in which he referred to Nana Sahib, Rani Lachmi Bai, Profulla (*sic*) and others as heroes, and asked those present to wear the "mutiny badge" for at least a month in honour of their nation; badges were then distributed.

The call to the bar of Savarkar and Harnam Singh.

Savarkar proceeded to refer to the action of the Benchers of Gray's Inn in not calling Harnam Singh and himself in the usual way. He said they need not be afraid of repression, and had only to show a bold front and persevere. He added that, although they did not wish to adopt the policy of bomb throwing, the authorities were forcing them to do so.

The Mutiny celebration.

The mutiny celebration was held the next evening and was claimed to be a great success. About 40 Indians attended, but Haidar Raza, who strongly opposed the whole proceedings, was absent, having been told by Savarkar that if he did not like to take part in it he could "clear away from the House."

The chair was taken by Harnam Singh, and Savarkar spoke on "The History of the Indian Mutiny." He said that the English treated Indians with the utmost cruelty and brutality by ordering a general massacre, and added that they were perfectly justified now in taking their revenge in any possible way—fair or foul. Innocent women and babies were bayonetted by the English soldiery.

He went on to eulogise Nana Sahib and spoke of the Cawnpore massacre as a heroic deed. He said that the whole nation from one end of India to the other was waiting the word to take up arms against the tyrants and pack them back to their own dens. The Sikhs and other native soldiery were ready to rise and shake off the oppressive ruinous yoke of British rule. Several other speeches were made, and the proceedings closed with national songs and prayers for the success of the National Movement.

In the second week in May the number of paying boarders at the India House had fallen from thirteen to two, only Dr. Rajan and V. V. S. Aiyar of Madras being left, besides Govind Amin and M. P. Tirumala Chari who were free boarders.

The London Indian Society.

At a meeting of the London Indian Society held in the third week of May, the following resolutions were passed :—

1. In order to make the society popular and to get new members to join it, it was resolved that at the present crisis all political lectures, discussions, etc., be stopped for a time; only social gatherings and "At Homes" to be held so far as funds permit. At every "At Home" Indian ladies to be invited, and music and Indian refreshments to be provided as an inducement for guests and new comers. The secretaries and members of the Executive Committee to take out a number of free admission cards for their friends and bring as many as they possibly can.
2. Funds at present in hand £ 30.
3. Resignations of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, J. M. Parikh and M. C. Mullick accepted.
4. Messrs. Aiyar, Savarkar and other gentlemen, inmates of "India House", not to be invited to the "At Homes", as their presence

would cause others to remain away. The Society to work quite independently of the Free India Society.

Lecture by B. C. Pal.

On the evening of May 16th a meeting of the London Indian Union took place at Emerson Hall, Charing Cross, and B. C. Pal delivered a lecture on "The philosophy of Indian Nationalism" to an audience of some 14 Indians. Regarding the reforms he said they were mere shams; he added somewhat inconsistently that the Hindus, and especially the Bengalis, had done all the work, and it was unfair that the Muhammadans who had done nothing should reap the benefit. This view of the case was opposed by some of the Muhammadans present, and the gathering broke up at about 8 P.M.

Meeting of the London Indian Society.

The Indian agitators were very quiet during the second half of May, and only two meetings were reported to have been held. On May 29th, at a meeting of the London Indian Society held at Delgado's office, it was resolved that B. C. Pal or Haidar Raza should be invited to lecture on some political subject at a general meeting of the Society, and that, subject to the approval of the Vice-President, who was absent, a luncheon or dinner should be given to Surendranath Banerjea. It was also arranged that Nitisen Dwarkadas, who was said to be his personal friend, should arrange with Surendranath for the latter to address a few meetings in connection with the Society.

Meeting at the India House.

The Sunday meeting at India House on May 30th was attended by only eleven members. A paper was read by Rauf Ali, one of Haidar Raza's companions and now a student of Lincoln's Inn, who suggested that it was necessary to establish a secret code to be employed by leading and trusted members of the party owing to the danger that confidential letters might fall into the hands of the authorities. It was decided to bring the matter up again at a more representative meeting.

Arrangements in connection with S. N. Banerjea's visit.

Matters were still very quiet during the week ending June 11th. On the afternoon of the 9th a meeting of the Committee of the London Indian Society was held at Delgado's office to arrange for a dinner to be given to S. N. Banerjea. Soon after the discussion commenced, J. M. Parikh raised the question that the Committee had no power to offer a dinner to S. N. Banerjea, or to ask him to address the Society on a political subject. Dwarkadas rose in a fury at this statement, and abused and insulted Parikh; in the end

sides were taken by the members, and a free fight was only obviated by Delgado's postponing the subject under discussion.

Results of the conviction of V. D. Savarkar's brother.

The news of the sentence passed on Ganesh Damodhar Savarkar of Nasik caused considerable excitement and comment among the Indian agitators. His brother, V. D. Savarkar, seemed to be very much affected by the severity of the sentence. At the usual Sunday meeting at the India House on June 20th Savarkar was very violent and advocated the wholesale murder of the English in India. He asked every one present to do his best to serve the country by sacrificing his life at the earliest possible moment "for the next moment would be denied to him (*sic*)".

Assassination contemplated.

In a report dated June 25th, it was stated that M. P. Tirumala Chari of Madras was being strenuously coached by V. V. S. Aiyar to become a martyr, and thus to hand his name down to posterity. Acharya was said to have become careless of his life and to have stated that his end was very near and he did not know whether he would ever go to India or whether the world would see his end in England. He was said to be destitute and completely in the power of the India House party and especially of V. V. S. Aiyar, the close associate of Savarkar.

In the last week of June only Acharya, Aiyar and Haidar Raza, the manager, were staying at the India House and the two first intended to leave during the week.

Assassination of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie.

At 11 P.M. on July 1st, at the close of a meeting held at the Imperial Institute, Colonel Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, Political Aide-de-Camp at the India Office, was assassinated by a Punjabi named Madan Lal Dhingra. A Parsee doctor named Cowasji Lalcaca, who was standing near and appears to have made a movement in the direction of the assassin, was also instantly shot and died shortly afterwards on the way to hospital. Dhingra was promptly seized by several bystanders and attempted to commit suicide, but in turning the revolver upon himself he released the safety catch and was consequently unable to shoot.

The murders were committed with an automatic magazine Colt pistol purchased on 26th January 1909 in London; the assassin was also armed with a loaded Browning magazine automatic pistol of Belgian make which there is reason to believe was procured through the Paris branch of the anarchist society. He also

carried a six-inch steel blade hunting knife.

Madan Lal Dhingra's previous history.

Dhingra arrived in London in July 1906, and on October 19th of that year he became a student of Engineering at the University College, Gower Street, W.C., which he continued to attend up to the time of the murders. He is said to have visited "India House," 65, Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, soon after his arrival in England, and to have resided there for about 6 months from March or April 1908, and also for about a month in the early part of 1909. He regularly attended the meetings held at "India House", but no record exists of his having taken any part in the discussions, or of his having made a speech there. On leaving "India House" in April 1909 he went to reside at 108, Ledbury Road, Bayswater, W., and there remained up to the time he committed the crimes.

At his lodgings were found two picture postcards, one of which was a reproduction of a picture recently published in the "Free Hindustan," depicting the blowing of Indian rebels from the mouths of cannon, and the other a portrait of Lord Curzon on which was pencilled "Heathen Dog."

Document found in Dhingra's possession on his arrest.

In Dhingra's possession, on his arrest, was found the following document:—

"I attempted to shed English blood intentionally and of purpose, as an humble protest against the inhuman transportations and hangings of Indian youth.

In this attempt I consulted none but my own conscience; conspired with none but my own duty.

I believe that a nation unwillingly held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible I attacked by surprise—since cannon could not be had I drew forth and fired a revolver.

As a Hindu I feel that the slavery of my nation is an insult to my God. Her cause is the cause of freedom. Her service is the service of Sri Krishna. Neither rich nor able, a poor son like myself can offer nothing but his blood on the altar of Mother's deliverance and so I rejoice at the prospect of my martyrdom.

The only lesson required in India is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying alone.

The soul is immortal and if everyone of my countrymen takes at least two lives of Englishmen before his body falls the Mother's salvation is a day's work.

This war ceases not only with the independence of India alone, it shall continue as long as the English and Hindu races exist in this world.

Until our country is free Sri Krishna stands exhorting 'if killed you attain Heaven; if successful you win the earth.'

It is my fervent prayer. May I be reborn of the same mother and may I redie in the same sacred cause till my mission is done and she stands free for the good of humanity and to the glory of God."

Dhingra's crime the outcome of a conspiracy headed by Savarkar.

As stated in Court it was the view of the London Police that there was nothing to show that the murder was the outcome of any conspiracy. At the same time there is no doubt that it was instigated by the band of anarchists headed by Savarkar in London and Shyamji Krishnavarma in Paris.

It has been clearly established that neither on personal nor on family grounds had Dhingra the slightest grievance against his victim; on the contrary, the letters he had received from Sir William Curzon-Wyllie showed that the latter had treated him with the greatest consideration, and in doing so was only continuing in his case the kindness he had already shown to other members of the family. Nor was it to be expected from Dhingra's early history that he would be likely to become a political assassin as he was brought up in most respectable and loyal surroundings.

On the other hand, it is known that the anarchists in London and Paris had for some time contemplated the murder of a European, and the report of the 25th June which is quoted above shows that the India House party had gone the length of attempting to procure an instrument in the person of Tirumala Chari. Early in May it was reported that members of the India House used to go in turns with Govind Amin to practise revolver shooting at a range in Tottenham Court Road, and in the course of Dhingra's trial, evidence was given by a certain Mr. John S. Morley, owner of a range in that locality, that Dhingra had been practising there with his own revolver for the last two or three months. The inference is that he had been learning revolver shooting under the auspices of the India House Society.

Again as has been mentioned above Dhingra was a frequent attender at the India House meetings and must have

heard the numerous direct incitements to assassination which had lately been prominent features of the speeches made at these gatherings. The most violent of the speakers was Savarkar, who had at the time of the murder two serious grievances, namely, the conviction for sedition and life sentence passed on his brother at Nasik on June 9th, and the postponement for the second time of the question of his own call to the bar. The following account of a meeting held on July 4th, furnished by a correspondent who was present, is consistent with these circumstances and is corroborated in some important points which will be noted later.

Secret meeting held there days after the murder.

At this meeting some 12 of the leading agitators were present and speeches in praise of the murderer were delivered by V. V .S. Aiyar, Savarkar, G. C. Varma, Haidar Raza and S. M. Master. Aiyar in his speech said that Dhingra had done a glorious act, but there was one among them who was the real *guru*, the *avatar* of Krishna, who had produced a man like Dhingra. He later on hinted that it was V. D. Savarkar (he did not then name him) who had taught and prepared Dhingra to do all that he did.

When Savarkar's turn came to speak the correspondent reports that he said "There was one man to watch and guide the whole thing, and he said that Dhingra stood cool and calm firing at the prostrate figure of his country's enemy, Wyllie."

Immediately after the regular meeting in the course of an informal conversation Dr. Rajan stated that Dhingra was the product of Savarkar's sound teaching, and that Dhingra had been hunting for Lord Morley, Lord Curzon and Sir Curzon-Wyllie for the last seven months. He also said that he (Rajan) Savarkar and Aiyar sent Koregaonkar to watch and guide the whole thing. Koregaonkar according to this account, drew Dhingra's attention to Sir William Curzon-Wyllie as he was entering the hall and again as he was leaving Koregaonkar said to Dhingra "Well, Go on! what are you doing?" and thus gave him the final word of encouragement.

The following report from a quite independent source provides the corroboration referred to above :—

Further evidence of conspiracy.

"On the evening of the murder Dhingra and another Indian described as a "pock-marked man" visited H. K. Koregaonkar's lodgings at 47, Coram Street,

W. C., and were with him for half an hour. Dhingra, and the " pock-marked man " left Koregaonkar's room together. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan was thought to be the man who corresponded to the description of the " pock-marked man " and his photo has been shown to Koregaonkar's landlady, but she failed to identify him. Koregaonkar is said to have been present at the Imperial Institute on the night of the murder, but was not seen to hold any conversation with Dhingra, and his action after the crime was not such as would justify his being cognizant of Dhingra's intention to commit the crime."

Again in a report dated July 16th it was stated:—

"Rajan and Koregaonkar have been making attempts to see the prisoner in Brixton Jail, and have sent letters to him offering to get a solicitor for his defence. V. V. S. Aiyar has also associated himself with Rajan and Koregaonkar in the efforts to see and write to Dhingra."

General conclusions as to Dhingra's crime.

On the whole therefore there can be little doubt that the murder was engineered by Savarkar, who had himself gone to Reading a day or two before the assassination took place, with the assistance of Aiyar, Rajan and Koregaonkar, and that it was a political murder deliberately brought about by the anarchist society of the India House who were guided in their choice of a victim chiefly by the considerations that Sir William Curzon-Wyllie was a prominent official of the India Office, and was taking a prominent part in organising measures to prevent Indian students from falling into the society's clutches.

Shyamji Krishnavarma's connection with the crime.

The direct personal connection of Shyamji Krishnavarma with the murder has not been established, but he was throughout in close touch with the India House and with Savarkar, and the issue of the *Indian Sociologist* for July, which appeard in London on the morning of the day the assassination took place, contained an article arguing that political assassination was no murder which may have had a deciding effect on Dhingra's mind.

B. C. Pal's house used as a rendezvous of anarchists.

Immediately after the murder the India House accomplices in Dhingra's crime scattered over London. Dr. Rajan went to stay with Haidar Raza at 21, Guilford Street, W.C., and V. V. S. Aiyar to 17, Red Lion Passage. Savarkar continued to stay with B. C. Pal, and all of them afterwards frequently used this house as a place of meeting.

Meetings of Indians held to condemn the crime.

On Saturday, July 3rd, S. N. Banerjea presided over a meeting of Indian residents in London, at which resolutions were passed condemning Dhingra's crime.

Among those who spoke were Major N. P. Sinha, and the extremists B. C. Pal, J. M. Parikh and G. S. Khaparde.

On Monday, July 5th, a meeting of Indians was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, to express the indignation of the Indian community in London at the murders. His Highness the Aga Khan presided. After the resolution was moved, Mr. Theodore Morrison led to the platform Dhingra's brother who he said had come to him that morning and asked what he should do to show his repugnance of his brother's crime. He told him that it was his duty to come there to show before his fellow-countrymen that he dissociated himself from the murder. The young man was too overcome to speak and was led back to his place.

Savarkar obstructs the proceedings.

After the resolution had been put and declared to be carried Savarkar jumped to his feet in the centre of the hall and announced that he was not in agreement with the motion. A certain Mr. Edward Palmer attempted to eject him, and was struck on the head apparently by M. P. Tirumala Chari who is known to have accompanied Savarkar to the meeting with the object of obstructing the proceedings. Savarkar and Tirumal Acharya were eventually ejected, and the meeting proceeded after unexpected speeches from the Mr. Palmer above-mentioned and Bhattacharji who assaulted Sir William Lee-Warner last January. The latter said "Whatever may have been the cause of the misunderstanding the other day, I have come here to-day to tell you I have no connection with any anarchist movement in London, and I hate anarchy and violence as much as my grandfather did."

Savarkar and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya write to the *Times*.

Next day Savarkar wrote to the *Times* to explain his position, and in the course of his letter he said—"The resolution was explained by those who proposed and seconded it so as to presume the criminality of the man who is accused of having committed the murder. It seemed to me an encroachment upon and assumption of the authority of the Law Courts to declare a man who is still under trial to be a criminal. The man accused of the murder has made no confession. So it seemed to me more just and appropriate to omit the words "crime and criminals" from the resolution. As the proceedings had advanced too far to effect this, I simply voted against the

resolution as it stood, and wanted to bring to the notice of the President the fact that the resolution could not be declared as passed unanimously.'' He also announced his intention of proceeding against Mr. Palmer for assault.

On July 9th a letter on the same subject from Virendranath Chattopadhyaya appeared in the *Times*. In this he said "There is no one who feels more deeply than I do the effect of political assassinations upon the progress of the Nationalist movement. But, anxious as I am to see "anarchism" obliterated from my country, I cannot conscientiously help the British Government to suppress it, as I am firmly convinced, as every Nationalist is, that their whole policy is wrong and is calculated to produce no other result than it has already done. * * *

The catalogue of coming assassinations will probably be a long one, and the responsibility for its length will have to be laid at the door of those who, instead of espousing the cause of Indian freedom, wish to hold India in the interests of Britain.''

Connection of B. C. Pal, G. S. Khaparde, and S. N. Banerjea with the anarchist movement.

Savarkar's letter was dated from 140, Sinclair Road, which was B. C. Pal's address, and V. Chattopadhyaya was still Secretary to B. C. Pal's Swaraj Agency matters which detract considerably from the value of B. C. Pal and G. S. Khaparde's speeches at the meeting of the 3rd and presence at the meeting of the 5th. In this connection the following report, though uncorroborated, is worth quoting :—"S. N. Banerjea saw Savarkar and appreciated the murder. Savarkar says that in private Banerjea is a great sympathiser, rather an admonitor of such deeds. So is Khaparde. Khaparde came to B. C. Pal's house the other day and said that still there was work to be done : one assassination was not sufficient.''

Savarkar's call to the bar.

At a meeting held in the afternoon of July 14th the Benchers of Gray's Inn finally decided that V. D. Savarkar should not be called to the bar. A correspondent who met him and a few others of the set next day at B. C. Pal's house states that Savarkar announced to them this decision and said cheerfully—"It means only a few farthings to me ; not even rupees, but only a few farthings. Now that they have not called me I shall be able to work better for it.'' V. Chattopadhyaya who was also present added, "Damn their bar and all that. I know they are not going to call me even, but I do not care a fig for that. I don't care for the bar at all. Is it not

very lucky that we have been put in a position to walk with our heads erect ?''

Talk of further assassinations.

In the second week of July there was some talk amongst Savarkar's set of further assassinations as foreshadowed in V. Chattopadhyaya's letter to the *Times*, and attempts were still being made to incite M. P. Tirumala Chari to sacrifice himself in this way.

Madame Shyamji Krishnavarma was in London in the middle of July staying with Dwarkadas at 128, Holland Park Mansions, W. She visited ''India House'' which was said to be in a filthy condition, and was having it cleaned with a view to selling the premises.

Farewell entertainment to Koregaonkar.

On July 21st a secret meeting was held at the Indian Restaurant, 17, Red Lion Passage, Holborn, where V. V. S. Aiyar and M. P. Tirumala Chari were staying, from about 10-30 to about 11 P.M. Amongst those present were, in addition to these two, Savarkar, H. K. Koregaonkar, V. Chattopadhyaya, G. C. Varma and B. C. Pal's son. The meeting was held to express to Koregaonkar the admiration of those present for his good work in promoting Indian Nationalism, and to wish him a pleasant journey home. V. D. Savarkar was the spokesman, and Koregaonkar in reply thanked the audience, and said he would continue to work in the interest of the Indian Nationalist movement. He left London on July 24th and was seen off by Savarkar, Govind Amin and B. C. Pal's son.

Private meeting of extremists.

On July 25th a private meeting was held from 4 to 7-15 P.M. at 3, Glazebury Road, West Kensington, the residence of Rafik Mahomed Khan, of Nabha, Harnam Singh's friend, and a certain Setalvad, a Gujerati, who has only recently come to notice. About half a dozen of the leading extremists were present, and V. V. S. Aiyar and Savarkar made speeches in praise of Garibaldi. The latter said that a Garibaldi was urgently needed for India and went on to preach as usual a policy of wholesale assassination.

Savarkar leaves London for Brighton.

Savarkar afterwards went off to Brighton, giving out that he was going to stay there for a fortnight ; his going seems to have been part of a scheme to put the police off the track of Govind Amin's departure from England. The latter left on July 25th with a small quantity of personal luggage, and the remainder was forwarded on July 28th by Sukh Sagar Dutt addressed in the false name of D. Lall, Esquire, to a Hotel in Paris.

C. I. Circular No. 11.

Dated the 28th October 1909.

A copy of the above memorandum, with Appendix, is forwarded for information.

C. J. STEVENSON-MOORE,

Offg. Director of Criminal Intelligence.